



John Allen
Appropriations
for
Colonizing the Slaves
Baltimore, 1826.

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Class E 448

Book A 42

AN ESSAY

ON THE POLICY OF

APPROPRIATIONS BEING MADE BY

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

FOR PURCHASING, LIBERATING AND COLONIZING

WITHOUT THE TERRITORY OF THE SAID STATES,

THE SLAVES THEREOF,

IN NUMBERS,

SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE

BALTIMORE AMERICAN,

AND THE WHOLE OF THEM IN THE

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

BY A CITIZEN OF MARYLAND.

By the Rev. John Allen A. M.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The first three numbers of the following essay were published in the Baltimore American of the 7th and 14th of July, 1826, and the 2nd of August following. The fourth number was given to the publishers of that paper early in the ensuing September, and after remaining with them about two or three weeks, they alleging, that from the press of other matter they could not give it an insertion, the writer took it back, having no expectation of that and the other numbers being inserted in that paper in any reasonable time. The whole of the numbers have been inserted in the Baltimore Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE AUTHOR.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison



CORRECT ERRORS OF THE PRESS THUS,

Page 13, line 38. For *than*, read *that*.

16, line 9, For *and*, read *all*.

line 20, For *national*, read *natural*.

19, omit the 5th line, beginning with the word, *states*.

27, line 14, For 12,4220912, read 12,4320912.

line 23, For 29,7906819, read 29,7905819.

AN ESSAY, &c.

JUBILEE, NO. 1.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

United States, July 4th, 1826.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens.

A period of fifty years, a whole jubilee period, has elapsed, since you have become an independent nation; and as jubilees seem to have been originally intended as stated periods, for removing any oppressions and redressing any grievances, which may have existed or occurred during the preceding period, and advancing any improvements which may appear necessary or expedient to be adopted; it behoves us, to look back, and consider, in what respects the rights, happiness and prosperity of the human species have been advanced, during the preceeding jubilee period, and what still remains to be done, in order to promote and secure those rights, and that happiness and prosperity, which are or ought to be the great end of all human associations and governments.

The past jubilee period commenced with a declaration of the independence of this country, then consisting of thirteen states, which had previously been in a state of colonial dependence on a nation and government about three thousand miles distant from them: and this measure was unanimously adopted by them, in consequence of an attempt made and persevered in by the parent nation, to exert arbitrary rule and taxation over them, with circumstances of great atrocity, and an unfeeling disregard of their repeated petitions for redress. That independence was effected, after a war of about seven years, waged under circumstances of very great difficulties, privations, and embarrassments. These states soon after voluntarily united themselves under a general government, reserving to their own local governments, the power of managing their local concerns. This state of things has now lasted nearly forty years, with an increase of population wealth and power unprecedented in the annals of the world, and with all the liberty and security of those states & the individuals composing them, of which human society seems capable.

But was there not a very great evil existing in our country, at the commencement of this period? was not nearly a fifth part of the whole population in a state of slavery to the residue? an evil entailed on that enslaved population and their posterity; and

was there not still a source of augmentation of this evil both by natural increase & by a continued importation of a similar population? Were our forefathers, the supporters of our independence & framers of our present constitution, unobservant of, or inattentive to this evil? By no means. The framer of our declaration of independence, Mr. Jefferson, & one of the first & warmest champions of our independence, Mr. Henry, both members of a slave holding state, with many others, bear clear and honorable testimony to the magnitude of the evil. But what could be done?—The legislators of the slave-holding states were themselves generally slave-holders to a considerable extent, and much of their means of comfort and opulence depended on that kind of property; and so necessary did they consider laborers of that description to them, that those members of the convention which formed the federal constitution, who wished the abolition of the slave trade, could not prevail on the members, from the southern states, to authorise congress to prohibit the importation of slaves till 1808; upwards of 20 years after its formation, alleging that they could not, from their arrangements, dispense with the importation of them, for that time. Congress however, acting on the power granted them, has prohibited the importation since the first day of the year 1808, has made the slave trade piracy, has employed vessels to obstruct that trade, has purchased a territory of considerable extent to accommodate such slaves as may be taken from slave vessels, having appropriated for that purpose a sum of one hundred thousand dollars, and in conjunction with the American society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, a colony has been founded on the coast of Africa in a very healthy situation, and which has advanced with uninterrupted success and unexampled rapidity for upwards of four years since its first settlement at Monrovia, at the mouth of Mesurado river, and its possessions must now occupy nearly 200 miles of a very fertile sea coast.

Thus far much has been done, if not for the removal, at least for the diminution of the evil; a further importation has, as far as government could effect it, been prevented; a settlement in their original country, where their persons and property will be protected, has been provided for such as are free, or may be liberated by their owners.

Such has been the case as respects our own nation; and if we view the state of other countries, we find also cause of joy and exultation. Almost the whole of this extensive continent of America has, from dependent colonies, become free and independent republican states, in which slavery is either almost or alto-

gether abolished; almost all the civilized powers of the world, and by far the greatest maritime power among them, have joined in the suppression of that scourge of Africa, the slave trade; and though it is still carried on to a considerable extent by one or two European nations, yet there appears to be a fair prospect of that infamous trade being soon annihilated. A powerful colony has been established by Great Britain adjacent to ours, with similar views of civilizing Africa, of bringing them to the use of making their support by industry, instead of doing it by enslaving each other, and of obstructing and annihilating the slave trade. The annihilation of the slave trade seems a prelude to that of slavery. The government of Great Britain, by far the most extensive holder of slave colonies, have declared a determination of removing the evil, and are taking efficient measures for the purpose. One extensive and populous West India island, consisting of a coloured population, has become an independent nation. Greece, that once great and celebrated country, the cradle of the arts and sciences, has, for several years past, made such a brave resistance against their tyranical rulers, as leaves hardly a doubt of their final independence. Sunday schools have disseminated, much more extensively than formerly, the blessings of education and information, and missionaries are actively diffusing the benefits of religion and civilization among nations hitherto unenlightened.

SIDNEY.

NO. 2.

Having in my preceding number, taken a brief view of the principal events tending to the amelioration of the state of the human family, which have taken place among ourselves, and in other parts of the world, during the jubilee period just elapsed; it remains, that we inquire, what we of the present day, ought to do for the same purpose; but before I proceed to that subject, I shall speak briefly of the scripture regulations respecting human rights and liberty, and especially respecting the jubilee.

These regulations are founded on the personal rights of man. The history of the creation of man, in the 1st and 2d chapters of Genesis, merits our particular attention; for whereas it is said, that God commanded the waters to bring forth the fish and fowl; and the earth, the cattle and creeping things and beasts of the earth after their kinds, and that he made them; of man it is said, that he made him in his own image, after his own likeness, that he breathed into him the breath of life, and he became a liv-

ing soul; all which naturally infers, what the holy scriptures assures us 'is the fact, that he is immortal: we find also that he was to have dominion over all other living creatures, see Genesis, i. 26 and ii. 7. All this is conformable to that solemn passage in the declaration of our independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But we find, on the fall of man, his labour became necessary for his subsistence; one of the penalties of the fall is, that in the sweat of his face, he should eat bread, Genesis, iii. 19. Hence it comes to pass, that sometimes he tills the ground to obtain a subsistence for himself and family; sometimes applies his labour to provide some convenience of food, raiment, ornament, improvement or gratification for others, for which he obtains from them, what he considers necessary or useful to himself; and sometimes he finds it more convenient, to engage his personal labours to others, for what he considers a sufficiently valuable consideration, and what the employer is willing to give him for them. As labour is the principal support of the poor, the injunction of paying the hireling his hire without delay, is particularly enjoined, see Deuteronomy xxiv. 15, and James v. 4. So far was a man, under the old testament laws, from being enabled to sell the labour of his posterity, that he could not engage his own labour for a longer time than six years, in the seventh year he was at liberty to go off, Exodus, xxi. 2. The cases in, and conditions on which, he could then, with his own free will, bind himself for a longer time, are mentioned in a few of the following verses of that chapter, and are unnecessary to be mentioned in this essay; only it may be well to observe, that as this law of not permitting a man to be bound for a longer time than six years, seems founded on the idea of the seventh being a sabbatical year, and that founded on the circumstance of the creation of the world having been accomplished in six days, and God's resting on the seventh, a circumstance which we must suppose to have been well known to Abraham and the patriarchs, the institution of the Sabbath day being sanctified to be kept holy, having taken place immediately on the creation, Genesis, ii. 3, it is probable, that freeing a servant come to the age of maturity in his seventh year, was observed by those patriarchs; and therefore, when we read of Abraham's servants born in his house, and bought with his money, Genesis, xiv. 14 and xvii. 23 and 27 verses, it is probable, their service was to a certain age; or for a term of years; especially too, as we find, that they were initia-

ted into the true religion by circumcision, as appears from the verses just cited. It is observable also, that the term for which Jacob twice bound himself to Laban for Rachel was seven years, Genesis, xxix. 18 and 30. How far they were permitted to vary from this rule, with respect to strangers and the inhabitants of the idolatrous nations about them, is immaterial to us under the Christian dispensation, the partition wall between Jew and Gentile being removed, and the gospel freely offered to all nations, and to every individual of them. The rights of man in a political capacity were, by the scripture regulations, guarded with equal care. And although their government degenerated into a hereditary monarchy, yet it appears from Samuel's conduct, on the application of the Israelites to him, for a king, that it was by no means consistent with their duty or interest to have asked for one; as the eminent Algernon Sidney, who was, under abused forms of law, put to death by the arbitrary Charles the 2d, for his attachment to the rights of man, has well observed, in his excellent work on governments. The evils and inconveniences of such a ruler are described very fully by Samuel on that occasion. 1 Samuel, viii. 11—17 ; and in the laws of Moses, the Israelites were directed, if they would have a king, that the office should not be hereditary. Deuteronomy, xvii. 15.

As the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan, was designed to keep up the knowledge of the true religion, amidst the general prevalence of idolatry among the nations about them ; in order to preserve the inheritance of the different tribes from being alienated, and falling into the hands of other nations or tribes; they were not permitted, to sell their land for a longer time, than till the year of Jubilee, which took place every fiftieth year. Leviticus, xxv. 10 and 11. Other indulgences took place in this year of Jubilee, for which see the whole 25th chapter of Leviticus, also Numbers, xxxvi. 4.

And although the observation of a Jubilee is not directly enjoined under the Christian dispensation; yet there is no doubt, the institutions of the old one, were designed as admonitions, patterns and examples to professors under the new. Let it be considered moreover, that the great end of all these institutions, is declared, in Holy Writ itself, to be, the good and benefit of the human race ; there we are assured, that the Lord desires mercy and not sacrifice, Hosea, vi. 6 ; and speaking of the people's formal manner of observing a fast, it is said, " Is it such a fast that I have chosen ? a day for a man to afflict his soul, is it " to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sack-cloth and " ashes under him ? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable

"day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen—to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not, to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?" Isaiah lviii. 5—7. And in Christ's description of the final judgment, in Matthew 25th, we find benevolent acts done to the least of those whom the Lord vouchsafes to call his brethren, considered as done unto himself. As it is then an obvious duty, to examine from time to time, and at stated periods, our situation and conduct, that we may correct our errors, and make the lapses of the time past, serve as warnings for the time to come; and as a period of fifty years, seems a convenient one for that purpose, and is warranted by divine institution; we shall assuredly not lose our reward, if we make a peculiar attention to this period, an occasion of future correct and benevolent conduct; which would be our duty, independent of any particular consideration of time.

SIDNEY.

NO. 3.

Though I have, in my preceding number, mentioned, that under the old dispensation, the people were not permitted to keep their brethren in servitude beyond the seventh year, and that the patriarchs were probably governed by a similar rule; yet I well know, that there is sufficient evidence to shew, that under the Jewish dispensation servitude existed, at least in the case of the Gibeonites, who however had surrendered themselves voluntarily to avoid extermination, and were made hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the service of the altar and of the house of God. Joshua, ix. This seems little like domestic slavery, or in origin like ours; that being a voluntary surrender of themselves and their services, to avoid a destruction, to which, on account of their wickedness, they had been doomed; the origin of ours being, on the part of the injured, involuntary, and generally no better than man-stealing. The Israelites were themselves slaves in Egypt; of course, when they came out of it, they could have had none, and they were required to suffer no strangers to reside among them, unless they were circumcised and became obedient to their law; when they, by the Mosaical institutions, became entitled to freedom in the seventh year, and in the year of Jubilee, as I have mentioned. In fact there appears to be very little

in favor of slavery under the Jewish dispensation, nor do the people seem to have been permitted to make slaves of prisoners taken in war, or to have been in the habit of so doing. But supposing it was permitted or practised under the Jewish dispensation, does that prove that it would be right or lawful under ours? In Christ's sermon on the mount, in Matthew, v. vi. and vii. chapters, his hearers are repeatedly reminded, that, what was said by them of old time, was by no means a sufficient rule for their conduct. The old law allowed arbitrary divorces, and a plurality of wives, all which is contrary to the original institution of marriage, as he shews with respect to the former. There are many other cases, wherein, in the same discourse, it was required of his followers not to imitate the rules and practices of former times.—A like observation is applicable to the case of slavery. No truth is more manifest, from the recital of man's creation in scripture, than that all men are created equal, are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It follows, that no human being, come to the age of maturity, can justly be deprived of his liberty, unless for crime; or, in any other case be compelled to labor for another without his own consent. The rules of scripture are in conformity with this principle. Under the old dispensation, man-stealing was punished with death. Exodus, xxi. 16, and Deuteronomy, xxiv. 7. And in the new testament, men-stealers are reckoned as a class of wicked men, 1 Timothy, i. 10. And I would ask, what better origin has our slavery than men-stealing?

But in defence of slavery, I know it is said, that in the New-Testament, servants are commanded to obey their masters, though at that time, a great proportion of the servants, were in fact slaves; that when Onesimus, for what time or from what circumstances a servant, does not appear, nor is it material, left his master Philemon, and became a convert; St. Paul sent him back to his master, and offered to make good any damage he might have sustained by the misconduct of his servant. To all this I would answer, that God is a God of order and not of confusion; that the Christian religion, instead of making its followers judges in their own case, forbids them to resist evil, or to exercise the law of retaliation; but the injunction to the oppressed to yield, does not justify or render lawful, the conduct of the oppressor.—I suppose there never existed greater tyrants than in the days of the preaching of Jesus and his Apostles; yet they commanded their followers to obey the civil authority. Will any man, from this circumstance, pretend to justify the conduct of Tiberius,

Caligula, Claudius and Nero? But I have dwelt too long on the proof of a thing as clear, as any principle of religion can be.— The superior light of christianity has expelled it from nearly all christian civilized nations. The old heathen practice of making slaves of prisoners taken in war, that ancient fruitful source of human slavery and misery is, thank God, banished from all civilized nations.

But it will perhaps be asked, if slavery be so great an evil, so great a usurpation on the rights of man, why did not our ancestors, those sages and heroes who conducted us to independence and national prosperity express their sense of its atrociousness, and take measures for its removal? I answer, this sense was expressed by many leading characters, but a crowded slave population keeps off free hirelings, they had become so situated in some of the Southern states, that they could not have cultivated their lands wit on them; all efficient legislative powers were vested in the state governments, and it seemed absolutely necessary, in order to secure the independence of the country, that they should all unite, and that they should be received into the union, on such terms as would be acceded to by each; and no doubt it was hoped, that, after the independence of the country was accomplished, measures would be taken in some way for the removal of the evil. Mr. Henry, one of the foremost champions of independence in Virginia, a slave-holding state, is known to have expressed, in a letter which has been published, his abhorrence of slavery; Washington in his last will and testament, left his slaves free at certain periods; and Jefferson, the admired framer of our declaration of independence, has expressed a decided sense of the evil of it in his Notes on Virginia, a work written 1781, during the revolutionary war, in answer, as he says, to some queries of a foreigner of distinction then residing among us. The eighteenth query runs thus: "The particular customs and manners that may happen to be received in that state?" As many of my readers may not have an opportunity of seeing this work, and the whole of the answer to this query, is well worthy the attention of the public, I shall give it entire. It is as follows:

"It is difficult to determine on the standard, by which the
 "manners of a nation may be tried, whether catholic or particular. It is more difficult for a native to bring to that standard
 "the manners, of his own nation, familiarised to him by habit.
 "There must doubtless, be an unhappy influence on the manners
 "of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us.
 "The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual
 "exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremit-

"ting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on
 "the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for
 "man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all
 "education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning
 "to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive
 "either in his philanthropy or self-love, for restraining the in-
 "temperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a
 "sufficient one, that his child is present. But generally it is not
 "sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the
 "lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of
 "smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus
 "nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be
 "stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a
 "prodigy, who can retain his manners and morals undepraved
 "by such circumstances. And with what execration should the
 "statesman be loaded, who permitting one half of the citizens
 "thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into
 "despots, and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the
 "one part, and the amor patriæ of the other? For if a slave can
 "have a country in this world, it must be any other, in prefer-
 "ence to that in which he is born to live and labor for another;
 "in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute
 "as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanish-
 "ment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition
 "on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the
 "morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed, for in a
 "warm climate, no man will labor for himself, who can make
 "another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors
 "of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor.
 "And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we
 "have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of
 "the people, that these liberties are the gift of God? That they
 "are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble
 "for my country, when I reflect that God is just: that his justice
 "cannot sleep forever: that considering numbers, nature and
 "natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an ex-
 "change of situation, is among possible events: that it may be-
 "come probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty
 "has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.
 "But it is impossible to be temperate, and to pursue this subject
 "through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of his-
 "tory, natural and civil. We must be contented to hope, they
 "will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change
 "already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution.

"The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing under the auspices of heaven for a total emancipation ; and that this is disposed in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation."*

SIDNEY.

NO. 4.

I should not, I suppose have troubled you, my fellow citizens, with arguments to prove the enormity and impolicy of slavery, if I had not thought the removal of the evil feasible on constitutional principles, without infringing on the claims of the holders, or burthening the nation with additional taxes. We have sufficient data, from which the whole business may be calculated very nearly. The census of 1820 gives the number of slaves in the United States, arranged into four classes, namely, those under 14

* Since the first number of this essay was put to press, advice has been received, that the two ex-presidents, the members of the committee which supported and framed our declaration of independence, Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, have been both removed from among us, on the jubilee commemoration of that happy event, and date of that number. How striking a manifestation of the arrangements of Divine Providence ! How much should the opinion of the worthy and judicious author of the notes on Virginia respecting slavery, weigh with his surviving fellow citizens, It sounds like the last advice of a departing father !

In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence prepared by him, was the following clause respecting slavery ; which was left out, in consequence of objections made by some of the Southern representatives in Congress ; it being considered all important, that the Declaration should go forth, as the unanimous voice of the whole thirteen states. Speaking of the king of Great Britain it is said,

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights, of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.— This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of a *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep an open market where MEN should be bought and sold ; he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which *he* has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom *he* also obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another."

years old, those of 14 and under 26, those of 26 and under 45, and those of 45 and upwards. The census of 1810, compared with that of 1820, shews the rate per centum of their increase in 10 years; whence by the laws of compound interest, the rate per cent per annum of that increase may be found. Again, from the amount of the debt of the United States on the first day of the year 1822, the first commencement of a year after the payment of the claims on the Florida purchase, and the amount of the debt 1st of January, 1826, we find that in the space four years, the United States, besides paying all the expenses of the government, and interest of their debt, discharged more than twelve and a half millions of dollars of the principal. From these data, I think I shall shew in the course of this essay, that, by a prudent application of our means, we can in much less time than might at first be supposed, both pay off our debt, and entirely, or very nearly annihilate slavery among us, without laying any additional tax, or at all infringing on the claim of the slave holders. But previous to entering on the consideration of the mode of effecting it, or the necessary calculations, I proceed to consider the propriety, expediency, constitutionality and obligation, of the general government's buying up the slaves by voluntary contract, and colonizing them without the territory of the United States.

And first, of its propriety. Of this there can certainly be no doubt. If it be true and self-evident, as our Declaration of independence declares, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; it is manifest, that nothing but the most absolute and peremptory necessity can justify us in keeping our fellow-creatures in that condition; and if such a necessity exists at present, that the most speedy and effectual measures should be used to remove it. That no necessity exists for its being retained perpetually, is manifest from this:—That all other civilized nations except our own, either do not permit it, or are pursuing measures to abolish it; that in those of our own states where there are few or no slaves, labor is performed to more advantage, the lands improve faster, are more valuable, and there is a more rapid increase in population and wealth, than in those, where they are numerous.—Than in managing the concerns of a nation, as well as those of an individual, honesty is, as our illustrious Washington often observed, the best policy. Which brings me to

The second head, its Expediency. This head is so extensive, that in an essay of this kind, I can by no means pretend to do justice to it. The impolicy of slavery is abundantly manifest,

by comparing the increase of population in slave holding states, with that increase in those states where few or no slaves exist.— The population of Virginia, considered by far the most populous state during our revolutionary war, was by the census of 1790, considerably more than double that of New-York, whereas by that of 1820, thirty years after, that of New-York exceeded that of Virginia, by considerably more than a fourth, and very nearly a third part of the latter. Nor is this all. The population of New-York is all of a friendly nature, and may be depended on in case of war, or invasion; whereas the slave population, which is nearly one half of the other, is of a hostile nature, and so far from being any protection in the hour of danger, could not be safely trusted with arms, and would even require a considerable part of the free population to guard against them. A large slave population will always interfere considerably with the increase of free population. The free labouring poor, which must always constitute the greater proportion of a population exclusively free, will naturally avoid going into a country, where slaves constitute a large proportion of the population, for the obvious reason, that there is little chance of employment for them: most of those who want labour, being provided with slaves for that purpose.

The political evils arising from an extensive slave population, are many and great. Those who cultivate their lands by laborers of this description, are obliged to feed and clothe a great number, who from infancy, old age, or other causes, are incapable of labor. This obliges them to cultivate much more land than they can manure, so that we generally find land so situated to depreciate. The expense of supporting so many supernumeraries lessens their profits, which are still farther diminished by the loss of the income, which the capital vested in this kind of property, would produce in any other good investment. All which accounts for the well known fact, that the produce of slave labor cannot come in competition in the market with the produce of free labor. The lands also become less valuable from the want of a free laboring population, many of whom would become wealthy, and of course competitors for the purchase of it. Inconveniences may be expected to arise from an extensive slave population, to the wealthy, because, if it were not for the slave population, there would be an abundance of free labourers to be employed to better advantage. The difficulty of procuring hirelings to those in middling circumstances, who are not rich enough to own slaves, is manifestly increased; while the free poor are injured from a diminution of employment.

Let it be considered, moreover, that an extensive and rapidly

increasing slave population, and such, ours of a million and three quarters, doubling every twenty-seven years, must be considered, has always been found to produce wars, the most expensive and desolating of all political evils; and a very short war would cost the nation more, than buying up and removing that population on a judicious plan, as will I trust appear in the course of this essay.

The expediency of the measure is still further enhanced from the increase of the public prejudices against this evil. All the states of our union to the northward of the states of Maryland and Delaware, the slaves of which, by the census of 1790, were upwards of forty thousand, have either abolished slavery, or made provision for the speedy removal of it. The same may be said of the seven republics, which have lately been formed out of the former Spanish American dominions. An independent government of black people has lately arisen in a very large and fruitful West India Island. Repeated and respectable petitions have been lately made to the British Parliament, for the abolition of slavery in their foreign possessions, and the British Minister has declared a determination of removing it, if the Colonial Governments do not soon of themselves effect it. That powerful engine, the press, has also lately become active in the cause, and periodical publications, having this for their professed object, are edited and meet with encouragement from the public. Anti-Slavery Societies multiply in different parts of the Union. And these circumstances must become very generally known to the slaves themselves, and tend to raise in them hopes of relief from their enslaved condition.

The writer of this essay has communicated his proposed plan for the removal of slavery, to several slave holders, for the purpose of knowing their dispositions, and hearing their observations and objections, and had the pleasure of finding them generally friendly to the measure of buying them up for the purpose of liberating and colonizing them. Indeed he considers the measure as very favorable to the interests of that class of our citizens.

SIDNEY.

NO. 5.

The expediency of the proposed measure is farther evidenced by its effect on the industrious free population, and especially on the mechanical part of society. Slaves are taught various me-

chanical branches, as the business of carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, shoemakers, &c. and in this way interfere much with the interest of mechanics. Moreover, slaves are generally obliged to live in small huts raised chiefly by their own labor, to eat the most common fare, and wear the coarsest apparel raised chiefly by their own industry; whereas if they were free, they would most of them, by their industry, be enabled to live in better houses, and to provide themselves with more comfortable and costly food and raiment; and which would furnish additional employment for mechanics, merchants, retailers, and even farmers. Hence the interests of the children of a great many slave holders are injured by the system of slavery; a large proportion of the slaveholders cannot leave each of their children, sufficient land and slaves to support them without a profession or mechanical business, and the concerns of mechanics being injured by slavery, many of their children are obliged to emigrate to more favorable situations, such as the western states or territories. This is doubtless one cause of the slowness of the increase of free population in slaveholding states.

It seems indeed to be a national policy of governments, having distant possessions, to encourage slavery in them, in order to diminish the free, and divide and weaken the whole population. Accordingly we find, in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence. (see note to No. 3 above,) the king of Great Britain accused, of having prostituted his negative, for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain that execrable commerce, the slave trade. This accusation, it is presumed, refers to a suppression of some attempt or attempts of some of the colonial or state governments, to prohibit or limit the slave trade with respect to themselves. The contrary, the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, is evidently the natural policy of free states.

The superior increase of the slave population above that of the free in the Southern states would be a just ground of alarm, if something were not likely to be done to counteract it. The increase of the free population of Georgia, between the census of 1810 and 1820, was under thirty per cent, that of the slave, above forty-two; of the free in South Carolina, during the same period, about nine, of the slave above twenty-eight; in North Carolina, of the free about twelve, of the slave, about twenty-six and an half. A like observation is applicable to most of the other slave holding states, as may be found by consulting the censuses of these years. The fact needs no comment.

It has been said, that if the slaveholders in the Southern states were to part with their slaves, they would be incapable of working their lands; and of course, that their agriculture would be diminished and much neglected. That the supposed necessity of slave labor for the cultivation of these countries, when first settled by European emigrants, was one ground of the toleration of the slave trade by the governments of that part of the world, is I think highly probable: but it is I believe unquestionable, that no such necessity exists at this time. If indeed the removal of the slaves were to be sudden, I have no doubt, it would create very considerable embarrassment for some time; but if it were gradual, individuals parting voluntarily with such as they could conveniently spare, I am so far from thinking it would injure their agricultural pursuits, that I am persuaded, it would materially improve them. As employment for the labor of freemen increased, a sufficient number of such to supply any defect arising from the diminution of slaves, would soon come into the parts where their labor was in demand; and the land would be better cultivated, improve faster, and become more valuable, as is found to be the case in non slave holding parts.

And if slavery be so great an evil, whether considered in a political point of view, or with respect to individuals; the expediency of the business being taken up by Congress, is farther evinced from the little prospect of the evil being removed by any other means. All the states north of Maryland and Delaware have either abolished slavery, or made provision for its speedy removal. But in these two states, and the slave holding ones to the south of them, very little has been done either for removing or diminishing the evil. Nor does there appear to be any rational ground of hope, that much will be done by the legislatures of these states for a long time to come. A majority of the legislators themselves, and a large and influential portion of their constituents, are slave holders, and as the port duties have been relinquished by them in favor of the general government, and their present expenses nearly or entirely absorb their revenues, there would be no source for recompensing the slave holders for the privations they would incur by any measure of that kind, unless by additional taxes; which would of course be so obnoxious, that many members could not be expected to risk their popularity with their constituents by advocating them.

Having thus discoursed on the expediency of the proposed measure, I shall postpone the consideration of its constitutionality and obligation for the ensuing number.

SIDNEY.

NO. 6.

The constitutionality of the proposed measure, was the next thing to be considered ; and of this there can I think be no doubt. Slaves are considered as personal property, and of course Congress, as a political person, has a right to purchase them for any purpose which may be judged conducive to the public welfare ; and I could as soon question their right to purchase any other personal property for the use of their army, navy, ports, or any other public purpose. as their right in this case. It is a measure of internal improvement, and I believe almost universally admitted to be an important one. It would manifestly be no injury to slave-holders, as they need not sell, unless they chose; and would be an accommodation to such as wished to dispose of them. Nor do I think the maximum fixed by congress ought to amount to a full price of them sold for life, being well assured, that a large proportion of the slave holders would take considerably less for them, for the purpose of liberating and colonizing them, than they would require, selling them for life. As I never did hear the constitutionality of the measure questioned by any one, it seems unnecessary to expatiate farther respecting it.

The next thing to be considered, was the obligation or duty of making the proposed appropriation; and as this depends a good deal on the feasibility of the plan, which necessarily requires calculation, I proceed to consider, first, the extent of the slave population, and, as I do not think it expedient to employ the revenue in the purchase of such as are very old or very young, of that population arranged into different classes according to their age. Secondly, the state of the public funds, and their competency to effect the proposed object.

And first as the total amount of the slave population. This by the census of 1820, was 1,531,436, which is exclusive of the district of Kershaw in South Carolina, the returns from which did not arrive in time for publication in that census. When received, it exhibited a slave population for that district of 6,692, making the whole slave population of the United States 1,538,128, and as all the states north of Maryland and Delaware, namely, those of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, are either entirely clear of slavery, or have adopted measures for its speedy removal, there is of course no necessity for the general government to interfere with the slave population of these states. That population by the census of 1820, amounted to

18,001, which being deducted from the above total of 1,598,128, leaves a remainder of 1,520,127.

By comparing the amount of the slave population of 1810, with that of 1820, according to the censuses of these years, the states. That population by the census of 1820, amounted to 18,001, increase of that population appears to be about twenty-nine per cent in the ten years. But as I think it probable from the amount of the returns, that equal accuracy was not observed, in some of the western parts of the union, in the former census as in the latter, and a spirit of manumission seems to have increased; I think it probable, that the increase would be rated high enough at twenty-eight per cent, in ten years, which, as a population increases according to the law of compound interest, is about two and an half per cent per annum, as may appear to any one who will find the amount of the principal and interest of one dollar for ten years, finding the interest for each year at two and an half per cent by the well known rule of simple interest, and increasing the principal of every year by the addition of the interest of the preceding. The increase in ten years will be found to be twenty-eight per cent, and a very small fraction, less than the hundredth part of one per cent; and as two and an half is one fortieth part of a hundred, we may, by supposing this law of increase, find the population of any one year, by adding to that of the preceding, a fortieth part of its amount. And as the amount of the census of 1820 appears to have been taken late in the year 1820 and partly in 1821, the time first limited for transmitting the returns to the Secretary of State, being to the first April 1821, which was afterwards extended to the first September following, I shall assume the amount by that census as above, namely 1,520,127. as the slave population, 1st January 1821; and by using the proposed law of increase, of adding to the population of any one year, one fortieth of that population, to find that of the succeeding year; that population, at the commencement of 1822, will appear to be 1,558,130; of 1823, 1,597,083; of 1824, 1,637,010, of 1825, 1,677,935; of 1826, 1,719,883; of 1827, 1,762,880. The population at the commencement of the succeeding years to that of 1841, with the estimated numbers of the different classes for each year, is postponed to the ensuing number. SIDNEY.

NO. 7.

In order to an estimate of the numbers of the different classes of the slaves, classed according to their age, I shall make use

of Doctor Halley's well known table, taken from the bills of mortality at Breslaw in Silesia, and the numbers of the slaves of different ages, according to the census of 1820. Doctor Halley in his table pitches on the number of 1000 persons, all supposed to be born in one year, and shews how many of them were alive at the end of every year, to the extinction of the last in the 90th year. The table is as follows.

Age.	Persons living.	Age.	Persons living.	Age.	Persons living.
Under 1 year-1000					
Between 1 & 2-	855	Betw'n 30 & 31-	523	Betw'n 60 & 61-	232
2	3- 798	31	32-515	61	62-222
3	4- 760	32	33-507	62	63-212
4	5- 732	33	34-499	63	64-202
5	6- 710	34	35-490	64	65-192
6	7- 692	35	36-481	65	66-182
7	8- 680	36	37-472	66	67-172
8	9- 670	37	38-463	67	68-162
9	10- 661	38	39-454	68	69-152
10	11- 653	39	40-445	69	70-142
11	12- 646	40	41-436	70	71-131
12	13- 640	41	42-427	71	72-120
13	14- 634	42	43-417	72	73-109
14	15- 628	43	44-407	73	74- 98
15	16- 622	44	45-397	74	75- 88
16	17- 616	45	46-387	75	76- 78
17	18- 610	46	47-377	76	77- 68
18	19- 604	47	48-367	77	78- 58
19	20- 598	48	49-357	78	79- 49
20	21- 592	49	50-346	79	80- 41
21	22- 586	50	51-335	80	81- 34
22	23- 579	51	52-324	81	82- 28
23	24- 573	52	53-313	82	83- 23
24	25- 567	53	54-302	83	84- 20
25	26- 560	54	55-292	84	85- 15
26	27- 553	55	56-282	85	86- 11
27	28- 546	56	57-272	86	87- 8
28	29- 539	57	58-262	87	88- 6
29	30- 531	58	59-252	88	89- 5
		59	60-242	89	90- 1
				90	upwds 0

Supposing 1000 persons born and arriving at the age of one year, every year for 90 years, there would, on the supposition of this table, be the sum of the whole, or 33,936 of them alive at the end of the 90 years; and the number opposite each year, would shew the number of that age, and the sum of the number of any number of years, the number of those of the ages, whose sum is so taken alive at that time. Whence there would be alive at the end of the ninety years, on the same supposition, under 14 years of age, 10,131, about 30 per cent of the whole, of 14 and under 26, 7,135; of 26 and under 45, 9102; and of 45 and upwards, 7,568, the three latter classes being about 21,26 3-4 and 22 1-4 per cent of the whole respectively.

And by the census of 1820, of a slave population of 1,531,436, classed in like manner, the numbers of the different classes were 665,474; 403,757; 314,872 and 147,333; being about 43 1-2, 26 1-4, 20 1-2, and 9 3-4 per cent of the whole.

A striking contrast between the mortality at the healthy city of Breslaw, where nearly a fourth of the population attain the age of 45; and in the United States, where a large proportion live in unhealthy situations, and the number who attain that age is short of a tenth; however the difference, though considerable in the youngest and oldest classes, is less so in the others; and we may find the proportionate numbers, nearly enough for our purpose, in the different classes, in the way in which I wish to class them, which is by making four classes, comprising periods of age of ten years each, of all under forty years old, and one of those of forty and upwards, by taking numbers having the same proportion to the numbers of the different classes by the census as above; as the number of the class in the proposed mode, most nearly corresponding with that in the census according to the above table, is to the number of the class of a like period with that of the census according to the same table; and finding a corresponding per centum for each class, making the per centum of each class whole numbers, by throwing in fractions in the younger classes and dropping them in the older. In applying this rule, we find the numbers of the different classes in the proposed mode, according to the above table, as follows; under ten years of age, 7,558; of ten and under twenty, 6,251; of twenty and under thirty, 5,626; of thirty and under forty, 4,849; of forty and upwards, 9,652.

And to apply the rule just mentioned in finding the proportion of the numbers of the first class, say, as 10,131 the amount for those under 14 by Halley's table, is to 7,558. the amount for

those under ten by the same; so is 665,474, the number of slaves under fourteen by the census, to a fourth number, which is 496,461 1-2, or 32 1-2 per cent of the whole, nearly. In like manner the proportion of the other classes may be found; and by taking the rates per centum of the different classes in whole numbers in the mode just prescribed, these numbers will be found to be nearly as follows, namely, 33,24, 20.11 and 12. Whence and from what has been said in the preceding number, we may estimate very nearly, at the commencement of every year, from that of 1827 to that of 1841, or about the time of the 6th census, the population of the whole, and the different classes, with the increase of the whole, and of each class, for every year during that period, as in the following table.

Date.

1st class, under 10 years old.

2nd class, of 10 and under 20.

3rd class, of 20 and under 30.

4th class, of 30 and under 40.

5th class, of 40 and upwards.

Total.

Increase of 1st class during the preceding year.

Increase of 2nd class, during the preceding year.

Increase of 3rd class, during the preceding year.

Increase of 4th class, during the preceding year.

Increase of 5th class, during the preceding year.

Total increase during the preceding year.

1st Jan. 1827.	581	750	423	691	852	576	193	917	211	546	1,762	880
1828	596	794	433	669	861	590	198	765	216	834	1,806	952
1829	611	802	444	510	870	435	203	734	222	255	1,852	126
1830	626	482	453	623	879	686	308	827	227	811	1,898	429
1831	642	144	467	713	889	178	214	048	283	507	1,945	890
1832	658	197	478	689	899	907	219	399	239	345	1,994	537
1833	674	652	490	666	408	880	224	884	245	328	2,044	400
1834	691	518	502	923	419	102	230	506	251	461	2,093	510
1835	706	806	515	495	429	580	236	269	257	748	2,147	898
1836	726	526	528	383	440	319	242	176	264	191	2,201	595
1837	744	690	541	592	451	327	248	230	270	796	2,256	635
1838	763	307	555	132	462	610	254	436	277	566	2,313	051
1839	782	389	569	011	474	175	260	797	284	505	2,370	877
1840	801	949	583	236	486	030	267	316	291	618	2,430	149
1841	821	998	597	817	498	181	273	999	298	908	2,490	903
											20,049	19
											14,581	12,151
											6,683	5,208
											4,848	4,969
											5,421	5,566
											4,072	4,145
											74	74
											9,035	9,035
											9,261	9,261
											9,492	9,492
											9,729	9,729
											5,351	5,351
											5,696	5,696
											47,461	47,461
											5,838	5,838
											48,647	48,647
											5,983	5,983
											49,863	49,863
											5,485	5,485
											6,133	6,133
											51,110	51,110
											5,622	5,622
											6,287	6,287
											53,388	53,388
											5,907	5,907
											6,443	6,443
											53,697	53,697
											6,054	6,054
											6,603	6,603
											55,040	55,040
											6,361	6,361
											6,939	6,939
											57,826	57,826
											7,113	7,113
											59,372	59,372
											60,754	60,754

Having thus considered the extent of the slave population of the United States, arranged into different classes, as proposed, I close this number.

SIDNEY

NO. 8.

Having in my two preceding numbers treated of the extent of the slave population of the United States, arranged into classes according to their age; I proceed to consider the second thing proposed, namely, the state of the public funds, and their competency to effect the proposed object.

The amount of the debt of the United States at the commencement of every year since that of 1816, which was the first after the conclusion of the war of 1812, compared with the amount of debt at the preceding commencement, shews a continual diminution of it, with the exception of the year 1822, which exhibits an increase of about three millions and a half, which was undoubtedly owing to the five millions borrowed during the preceding year on account of the Florida treaty, which was ratified by the Senate of the United States the 19th of February 1821. We have in the Treasurer's report of 12th December 1826, what would be the amount of debt at the commencement of 1827, being \$73,920,844.76. At the commencement of 1822, it was 93,546,676.98. By taking the several particulars of the debt of 1822, the average interest on it at that time, appears to have been about 5 1-2 per cent; at the commencement of 1826, it was a very small fraction over 5 per cent, which was owing to a considerable part of the debt bearing an interest of 6 per cent, being paid off, and money being borrowed at 4 1-2 per cent; whence the average interest of the five years from 1822, to 1827 may be estimated at 5 1-4, per cent per annum. From these data, I shall, on the principle of compound interest, proceed to investigate,

First. What is the average annuity, necessary to effect this reduction of the debt in the 5 years.

Secondly. In what time, that annuity would annihilate the debt. And

Thirdly. What difference the appropriation of any given part of that annuity to other purposes than the discharge of the debt, would make in the time of annihilating it.

And as different persons may have different ideas respecting the mode of making appropriations for effecting the object of this essay, and calculations by compound interest are important in ascertaining the effect of any given appropriations for a given period or periods, and many treatises on arithmetic are deficient in this rule; it seems quite expedient to shew in this tract, how to make the needful calculations, as clearly and concisely as I can.

And since the involutions and evolutions requisite in calculations by compound interest, where there are many periodical times of payment, are very tedious and troublesome, and the more easy method by logarithms, requires large tables, which many who receive this essay, and wish to calculate by that rule, might not have. I shall adopt that method which appears to me most plain and easy, and which has been customary among arithmeticians, of using tables, which I shall give, and which, showing the value resulting from 1 dollar or unit, would render it easy to find the value resulting from any other amount, by multiplying the result from one dollar, by the number of dollars in that amount.

The tables deemed requisite and sufficient for our purpose are three, which are given below, which have been calculated for every quarter per cent from 4 1-2 to 5 1-4, and for every year from 1 to 30. They are calculated to seven decimal places, which is as far as is customary, or necessary for any practical purpose. I shall first, shew the manner of calculating them, secondly, give the tables, and thirdly, shew how to solve the requisite problems by them, giving an example of each.

And first. Of the manner of calculating them. Table 1 shews the amount of one dollar for the proposed time and rate at compound interest, and is constructed as follows.

Find the amount for one year by multiplying one dollar by the number expressing the amount of a unit for one year at simple interest, at the proposed rate, this in the case of 5 per cent, is one 5-100, or expressed decimally, 1.05, giving the amount of principal and interest, of one dollar for one year, one dollar and five cents, which is manifestly the amount of one dollar for that time and rate, at simple interest. For two years, multiply 1.05, so found, by the same multiplier 1.05, the product 1.1025 gives the amount for two years, and the amount for every year is found by multiplying the amount of the next preceding year, by the same multiplier 1.05.

In like manner, the table is constructed for the other rates, the fixed multiplier for 4 1-2 per cent being 1.045, for 4 3-4, 1.0475 for 5 1-4, 1.0525.

Table 2, shews the amount of an annuity of \$ 1.00 for the proposed time and rate at compound interest. The amount for one year is \$ 1.00, and the amount for every succeeding year, is found, by adding the amount of the next preceding year, to that of the same year, by table 1.

Table 3, shews the present worth of an annuity of \$ 1.00, for the proposed time and rate, which is equal to the debt or amount which would be discharged by that annuity, for that time and rate, at compound interest. The amount for any number of years is found, by dividing the amount for that number of years in table 2, by the amount for the same number of years in table 1. The tables are as follow.

Table 1. Shewing the amount of \$1.00 for any number of years, from 1 to 30, at compound interest.

Years.	4½ per cent.	4¾ per cent.	5 per cent.	5½ per cent.
1	1.0450000	1.0475000	1.0500000	1.0525000
2	1.0930250	1.0972562	1.1025000	1.1077562
3	1.1411661	1.1493759	1.1576250	1.1659135
4	1.1925186	1.2039713	1.2155063	1.2271240
5	1.2461819	1.2611599	1.2762816	1.2915480
6	1.3022601	1.3210650	1.3400956	1.3593543
7	1.3608618	1.3838156	1.4071004	1.4307204
8	1.4221006	1.4495469	1.4774554	1.5058332
9	1.4860951	1.5184004	1.5513282	1.5848894
10	1.5529694	1.5905244	1.6288946	1.6680961
11	1.6228530	1.6660743	1.7103393	1.7556711
12	1.6958814	1.7452128	1.7958563	1.8478438
13	1.7721961	1.8281104	1.8856491	1.9448556
14	1.8519449	1.9149456	1.9799316	2.0469605
15	1.9352824	2.0059055	2.0789282	2.1544259
16	2.0223701	2.1011860	2.1828746	2.2675333
17	2.1133768	2.2009923	2.2920183	2.3865788
18	2.2084787	2.3055394	2.4066192	2.5118742
19	2.3078603	2.4150525	2.5269502	2.6437476
20	2.4117140	2.5297675	2.6532977	2.7825443
21	2.5202411	2.6499315	2.7859626	2.9286279
22	2.6336520	2.7758032	2.9252607	3.0823809
23	2.7521663	2.9076539	3.0715237	3.2442059
24	2.8760138	3.0457675	3.2250999	3.4145267
25	3.0054344	3.1904415	3.3863549	3.5937894
26	3.1406790	3.3419875	3.5556726	3.7824633
27	3.2820095	3.5007319	3.7334563	3.9810426
28	3.4296999	3.6670167	3.9201291	4.1900473
29	3.5840364	3.8412000	4.1161356	4.4100248
30	3.7453181	4.0236570	4.3219424	4.6445514

Table 2. Shewing the amount of an annuity of \$1,00 for any number of years from 1 to 50, at compound interest.

Years.	$4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	$4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.	5 per cent.	$5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.
1	1,0000000	1,0000000	1,0000000	1,0000000
2	2,0450000	2,0475000	2,0500000	2,0525000
3	3,1370250	3,1447562	3,1525000	3,1602562
4	4,2781911	4,2941321	4,3101250	4,3261697
5	5,4707097	5,4981034	5,5256312	5,5532937
6	6,7168917	6,7592633	6,8019118	6,8448417
7	8,0191518	8,0803283	8,1420014	8,2041960
8	9,3800136	9,4641439	9,5491049	9,6349164
9	10,8021142	10,9136908	11,0265643	11,1407496
10	12,2882094	12,4220912	12,5778925	12,7256390
11	13,8411788	14,0226156	14,2067811	14,3937351
12	15,4640318	15,6886899	15,9171265	16,1494062
13	17,1599133	17,4339027	17,7129828	17,9972500
14	18,9321094	19,2620131	19,5986320	19,9421056
15	20,7840543	21,1769587	21,5785636	21,9890661
16	22,7193367	23,1828642	23,6574918	24,1434920
17	24,7417069	25,2840502	25,8403664	26,4110253
18	26,8550837	27,4850425	28,1323847	28,7976041
19	29,0635625	29,7906819	30,5390039	31,3094783
20	31,3714228	32,2056344	33,0659541	33,9532259
21	33,7831363	34,7354019	35,7192518	36,7357702
22	36,3033779	37,3853334	38,5052144	39,6643981
23	38,9370299	40,1611366	41,4304751	42,7467790
24	41,6891963	43,0687905	44,5019989	45,9909849
25	44,5652101	46,1145580	47,7270988	49,4055116
26	47,5706446	49,3049995	51,1134538	52,9993010
27	50,7113236	52,6469870	54,6691265	56,7817643
28	53,9933332	56,1477189	58,4025328	60,7628069
29	57,4230332	59,8147356	62,3227119	64,9528542
30	61,0070697	63,6559356	66,4388475	69,3628790

Table 3. Shewing the present worth of an annuity of \$1 00 for, any number of years from 1 to 30, which is equal to the debt which would be discharged by the same annuity in the same time, at compound interest.

Years.	4½ per cent.	4¾ per cent.	5 per cent.	5½ per cent.
1	0,9569378	0,9546539	0,9523809	0,9501188
2	1,8726678	1,8660182	1,8594104	1,8528445
3	2,7489644	2,7360535	2,7232480	2,7105409
4	3,587557	3,5665399	3,5459505	3,5254544
5	4,3899767	4,3595609	4,3294767	4,2997192
6	5,1578725	5,1165259	5,0756921	5,0353625
7	5,8927009	5,8391654	5,7863734	5,7343112
8	6,5958861	6,5290360	6,4632123	6,3983955
9	7,2687905	7,1876233	7,1078217	7,0293546
10	7,9127182	7,8163474	7,7217343	7,6288404
11	8,5282169	8,4165608	8,3064142	8,1984234
12	9,1185808	8,9895570	8,8632516	8,7395949
13	9,6828524	9,5365609	9,3935730	9,2537718
14	10,2228253	10,0587782	9,8985479	9,7423011
15	10,7395457	10,5573063	10,3796580	10,2064620
16	11,2340151	11,0332280	10,8377695	10,647697
17	11,7071914	11,4875637	11,2740622	11,0654795
18	12,1599918	11,9213068	11,6395369	11,4645835
19	12,5922936	12,3353765	12,0353208	11,8428394
20	13,0079365	12,7306697	12,4622103	12,2022229
21	13,4047239	13,1080377	12,8211527	12,5436797
22	13,7844248	13,4682939	13,1630026	12,8681940
23	14,1477740	13,8122136	13,4835739	13,1763459
24	14,4954784	14,1405378	13,7986418	13,4692123
25	14,8282089	14,4539733	14,0939445	13,7474699
26	15,1466115	14,7531969	14,3751853	14,0118480
27	15,4513028	15,0388514	14,6430336	14,2630386
28	15,7426735	15,3115525	14,8981272	14,5016995
29	16,0218685	15,5718378	15,1410735	14,7284555
30	16,2888835	15,8204180	15,3724510	14,9439008

The practical application of these tables to the purposes of this essay, I defer to another number.

SIDNEY.

NO. 9.

Having in my preceding number given the tables necessary for the proposed calculations, I proceed to apply them to the purposes of this essay.

PROBLEM 1. *To find the amount principal and interest, of a given sum of money, in a given number of years, at a given rate per cent per annum, compound interest.*

RULE. Multiply the given sum, by the amount of \$1.00 for the given time and rate by table 1. The product is the amount required.

EXAMPLE. The debt of the United States, 1st January, 1822, was \$93,546,676.98, what would it amount to 1st January, 1827, supposing nothing paid on account of it, at 5 1-4 per cent per annum, compound interest?—Answer, \$120,820,023.56.

The given sum \$93,546,676.98, multiplied by 1,2915480, the amount of \$1.00 for five years, at 5 1-4 per cent per annum, by table one, page 26, gives a product of \$120,820,023.56, the amount required.

PROB. 2. *To find the annuity, necessary to produce a given amount, in a given number of years, at a given rate per cent per annum, compound interest.*

RULE. Divide the given amount, by the amount of an annuity of \$1.00 for the given time and rate, by table 2. The quotient is the annuity required.

EXAMPLE. What annuity, would in five years, amount to \$46,899,178.80, at 5 1-4 per cent per annum, compound interest.—Ans. An annuity of \$8,445,290.55.

The given amount \$46,899,178.80, divided by 5,5582937, the amount of an annuity of \$1.00 for five years at 5 1-4 per cent per annum, by table 2, page 27, gives a quotient of \$8,445,290.55, the annuity sought.

PROB. 3. *To find the amount of a given annuity, for a given number of years, at a given rate per cent per annum, compound interest.*

RULE. Multiply the given annuity, by the amount of an annuity of \$1.00 for the given time and rate by table 2. The product is the amount required.

EXAMPLE. What is the amount of an annuity of \$8,445,290.55 for five years, at 5 1-4 per cent per annum, compound interest.—Ans. 46,899,178.80.

The given annuity \$8,445,290.55, multiplied by 5,5532937, the amount of an annuity of \$1.00 for five years at 5 1-4 per cent per annum, by table 2, page 27, gives a product of \$46,899,178.80, the amount required.

PROB. 4. *To find the annuity, necessary to reduce a debt, from a given amount, to a given less one, in a given number of years, at a given rate per cent per annum, compound interest.*

RULE. Find the amount principal and interest, of the greater sum, for the given time and rate, by problem 1; from which subtract the less sum. The annuity which would produce the remainder in the given time at the given rate, found by problem 2, is the annuity required.

EXAMPLE. Supposing that the debt of the United States, 1st January, 1822, was \$93,546,676.98, and 1st January, 1827, \$73,920,844.76, what average annuity would be requisite to effect that reduction of the debt in that time, at 5 1-4 per cent per annum, compound interest?—Ans. An annuity of \$8,445,290.55.

The amount principal and interest of the greater sum in the given time, at the given rate, found by problem 1, is \$120,820,023.56; from which subtract the less sum \$73,920,844.76, the remainder is \$46,899,178.80, the annuity necessary to produce which in the given time, at the given rate, found by problem 2, being \$8,445,290.55, is the annuity sought.

PROB. 5. *To find what reduction, a given annuity, greater than the interest of a given debt, would make in the debt, in a given number of years, at a given rate per cent per annum, compound interest.*

RULE. Find the amount of the debt with interest for the given time and rate, by problem 1, from which subtract the amount of the given annuity with interest for the same time and rate, found by problem 3. The residue is the sum to which the debt would be reduced.

EXAMPLE. To what amount would a debt of \$93,546,676.98 be reduced in five years, by an annuity for that time of \$8,445,290.55, at 5 1-4 per cent per annum, compound interest?—Ans. \$73,920,844.76.

The amount principal and interest of \$93,546,676.98, for the given time and rate, found by problem 1, is \$120,820,023.56, from which subtracting the amount of the given annuity for the same time and rate, found by problem 3, being \$46,899,178.80, the residue \$73,920,844.76, is the amount sought.

PROB. 6. *To find, in what time, any given annuity, greater than the interest of a given debt, would extinguish that debt, at a given rate per cent per annum, compound interest.*

RULE. Divide the debt by the annuity, the quotient is the amount which would be discharged by an annuity of \$1.00 in the time sought, and the years opposite the next lower number under the given rate of interest in table 3, page 28, are the years sought, and the odd months and days are found, by saying, as the difference between that next lower and the next higher in the same column, is to the excess of the quotient found, above that lower; so is one year or twelve months, to the months and days sought.

EXAMPLE. In what time would an annuity of \$8,445,290.55 discharge a debt of \$73,920,844.76. at 4 3-4 per cent per annum, compound interest.—Ans. In 11 years, 7 months, and 1 day.

The debt \$73,920,844.76, divided by the annuity \$8,445,290.55, gives a quotient of 8,7529072, and the next lower number in table 3, page 28, under 4 3-4 per cent is 8,4165608, and the years opposite to it, being eleven, are the years sought.—The next higher number in the same column is 8,9895570; the difference between the next higher and next lower being 0,5729962, the excess of the quotient found above the next lower 0,3363464; and as 0,5729962, is to 0,3363464; so is one year or twelve months, to 7 months and one day. Therefore 11 years, 7 months, 1 day, is the time sought.

The six problems, whose solutions have been just given, are deemed sufficient for the purposes of this essay.

SIDNEY.

NO. 10.

The examples in No. 9 were selected with reference to the fiscal concerns of the United States, and supposing the national debt 1st January, 1827, to be \$73,920,844.76, and the average annual interest 5 per cent, its interest for the year 1827, would be \$3,696,042.24, whence the average annual appropriation to the payment of the debt and interest, as found in problem two above, being \$8,445,290.55; the surplus above the interest, being \$4,749,148.31, is the amount which would that year go to the reduction of the principal, Whence it follows, that if the

plan proposed by Mr. Dickerson, of New Jersey, in the Senate of the United State - of applying \$5,000,000 00 per annum of the funds, to the use of the several States for a number of years, were to be adopted, the debt of the nation would on this supposition increase.

And if half the amount just calculated to go to the reduction of the principal of the debt in 1827, or \$2,374,574 151-2 were applied to some other purpose besides that reduction, as the removal of slavery, by taking that from the above appropriation of \$8,445,290 55, there would remain an annuity of \$6,070,716.39 1-2; which by applying the rule in problem 6 above, will be found to extinguish the debt in eighteen years, seven months, and twelve days, or in about six years longer than the whole undiminished annuity would effect that object.

But so large an appropriation does not seem to be at all expedient, at least for some time; the colony of Liberia, to which the attention of the people of the United States seems to be chiefly directed, would not probably for a good while, be able to accommodate so large an emigration. A thousand persons a year, chiefly between twenty and thirty years of age, would be as many of this description as I should think expedient to colonize, until after the next census, when the effect of the appropriation would appear by the census here, and a census taken in the colony, if it were done, would tend to ascertain the number of colonists, which it could conveniently receive, rating the expense of obtaining and colonizing at \$300 each, for which I think it could be done, the amount for one thousand would be \$300,000. Supposing then a sum of \$300,000 annually were appropriated for five years, ending 1st January, 1832, and \$2,000,000 annually afterwards, in what time would the United States debt as above, be discharged, reckoning the interest during the first period at 5, and the residue at 4 3-4 per cent per annum, compound interest? Taking from the whole average annuity above \$8,445,290.55, the sum of \$300,000, the residue \$8,145,290.55, would be the annuity applied during the five years, to the payment of the principal and interest of the debt, the amount of which annuity in the five years at 5 per cent per annum, found by problem three above, is \$45,007,871.60, which being taken from the amount of the debt as above \$73,920,844.76 for the same time and rate, found by problem one, or \$94,343-814.02, leaves a remainder of \$49,335,942.42, for the amount of debt at the end of the five years; from which, and the annuity

afterwards applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the debt, found by subtracting \$2,000,000.00 from the whole average annuity \$8,445,290.55, applying the rule of problem 6, the time requisite for the extinguishment of the debt, will be found to be 9 yrs. 8 mo. 27 days, from the 1st of January 1832, or to September, 1841; the application of the whole average annuity, would, according to problem 6 above, effect the same object in August, 1838.

The examples here given are not intended to limit the reader or any person or persons, to any particular application of the funds of the nation; but to shew, how, from the above tables, the effect of any given application, of any given funds, may be found.

I have said above, that I thought the slaves for colonizing could be procured on such terms as not to cost the government more, on an average than \$300 each; I thought so, on the supposition, that a sufficient number would be willing to part with them at a lower rate, than they would require selling them for life. On this supposition I rated the males at \$300 each and the females at \$200, the average being \$250, supposing the remaining \$50, sufficient for their passage to Liberia or Hayti, (the expense of which, to the former, has been ascertained by the Colonization Society, not to exceed \$20,) and other incidental expenses. I have said that I thought a thousand persons a year was as many as could be well accommodated in Liberia; I do not suppose its present population can much exceed a thousand, and an annual importation equal to the actual population is perhaps as great a one as could be conveniently provided for; but I can see no good reason, why some might not be sent to Hayti, the government of which appears well disposed to receive them, or to the British colony of Sierra Leone. The purchase and colonization ought, I apprehend, to be chiefly from the 3rd class, for the following reasons.

First. I do not think it would have much effect towards the removal of slavery, to purchase and remove any of the 5th class, those of 40 and upwards. They could not be expected to have much issue after that age, and might as well grow old and die in the United States, as elsewhere.

Secondly. Although those of 30 and under 40, would probably have considerable issue, yet the public money would be so much more advantageously employed in the 3rd class, of those between 20 and 30, in which I apprehend there could be easily as many got, as it would be expedient to colonize at least for

many years to come, that I do not think it would be expedient to buy them from the older classes. And before the age of 20, I do not conceive persons generally at that maturity of understanding and strength, sufficient to obtain an honest livelihood, unless they were under the control or direction of a parent or other superior. In case however, of the owners wishing to part with the children of parents bought for the purpose of colonization, I should recommend their being bought for the same purpose, at prices suited to their age, or if a female be of the requisite age, her husband though somewhat younger or older than the limit of the 3rd class, might be bought at a value suited to his age, care being taken in no case to separate the husband and wife. If a person selling his young slaves, should wish to part with the old ones, on condition of the expense of their passage being provided for, which I have reason to think many would wish to do, they should, I apprehend, be gratified.

SIDNEY.

NO. 11.

Although for the reasons mentioned in the preceding number, a thousand persons a year, is perhaps as many of our slave population, as ought at present to be colonized, unless they should be sent to some other place besides Liberia; yet it is desirable, that such a colonization should be commenced without delay, as the increase of population in that part, would render it capable of receiving a still greater number. The annual number which ought, as soon as convenient, to be colonized, should not, I apprehend, be less than the annual increase of the third class. This by the table in page 23, for the year ending 1st January 1831, is 9,492, for that ending same day of 1841, 12,151, making the average annual increase for the ten years, about eleven thousand, which by a law of increase already mentioned in this tract, and by the same table, is about a fortieth part of the whole population of that class, and which at \$300 each, would require an annual appropriation of \$3,300,000, and supposing \$300,000 appropriated annually for 4 years ending 1st January 1832, reckoning at 5 per cent, and the whole annuity applied to the reduction of the debt, to be as found in the example to problem 2, the debt 1st January 1828 would be \$69,171,696.45, and by applying the rule of prob. 5, would, under the annual appropriation of

\$300,000 be reduced, by the 1st January 1832, to \$48,971,412, 39, which by applying the rule of prob. 6, would under the annual appropriation of \$3,300,000 be discharged in 12y. 11mo. 18d. from the 1st. January 1832, or 19th December 1844. Thus it is manifest, that the public funds are competent to purchasing and colonizing a number of the third class equal to its annual increase; and as the debt would, even with such an appropriation, be continually diminishing, and of course the interest on it, that they would soon be adequate to effecting much more in this way; and the issue of those so purchased and colonized, being born in a foreign country, would tend immediately to diminish the numbers of the first class; and after ten years from the first transmission, those of the second and fourth; and after 20 years, those of the third and fifth, exclusive of what would be then colonized out of the third. I forbear entering into any particular calculation of the effect, as such calculation would at best be very hypothetical, and that effect would be best discovered by comparing the actual result by the census after such an experiment should have been for some time made, with that which would have arisen from the known rate of increase, if none had been colonized.

Having thus spoken of the *propriety, expediency, constitutionality and feasibility* of effecting a gradual diminution or removal of slavery; before I enter on the consideration of the duty of Congress in this business, it may not be amiss to say something respecting the time, which it would be expedient to have in view, for effecting a total removal of the evil. It is a very general complaint, as far as my experience reaches, that, in country parts, where the free coloured population is in the vicinity of slaves, the latter are much given to stealing for the former. To those who suffer in this way, a total removal of the evil of slavery is a natural object. The time of which I have thought for the final removal of it, was the next jubilee day, or 4th of July 1876, about 50 years hence, and I should wish the Congress elected the present jubilee year, commencing 4th of July, 1826, at their first session to meet the latter end of 1827, to make a beginning, by some appropriation for the purpose, quite willing to submit the amount to their own wisdom, which indeed must determine it. And though any considerable diminution of the evil would certainly be an object, yet measures ought to be taken to effect in some given time a total removal of it; of which more hereafter.

The holders of this species of property ought not to be alarm-

ed at any attempt of Congress to remove or diminish the evil, as it is I believe unquestionable, and universally admitted, that Congress has no power to interfere, unless by fair and voluntary purchase; or which would amount to the same thing, by giving such a premium, to those liberating slaves for the purpose of colonization, as would be accepted by a sufficient number; except in the district of Columbia, where Congress has exclusive legislation, but from motives of delicacy, could not be expected to attempt to remove or diminish the evil, in any other way than as above, inasmuch as the inhabitants of that district, have no share in the election of the members of Congress.

SIDNEY.

NO. 12.

I come now to consider, what is the obligation or duty of Congress, in endeavouring to effect a removal or diminution of slavery in the United States. It seems to be very generally admitted, that it ought to be undertaken at some time, though many suppose not at present. I think it has been abundantly shewn in this essay, that the funds of the United States, are at this time adequate to the purchase and colonization of such a number, as would in the course of thirty or forty years very much diminish the evil, which ought surely to be considered a very great object, as it would diminish the danger as well as other evils arising from it. Let it be considered, that the longer the business is deferred, the more tedious, expensive and difficult it will be, as from the table at page 23, it appears, that the present annual increase of that population, is nearly forty-five thousand, and by the year 1840, will exceed sixty thousand, if something be not done in the mean time to arrest this increase. Nor do I perceive any just reason to suppose, that the opposition to the measure is like to diminish by deferring, but rather, as the amount of this kind of property will be increasing, that the attachment to it will increase likewise. If therefore it be expedient, that the thing should be begun at all, the sooner the better.

In order then to a correct view of the power of Congress in this business, it will be proper, to observe the powers given to Congress by the constitution, among which is that "to provide for the general welfare of the United States, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution all powers vested by that constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

Impossible as it manifestly was, for the framers of the constitution, to foresee all the cases, wherein Congress might be called on, to provide for the general welfare of the United States, they have, by that instrument, confided that power to them. The question then with every member of Congress, in order to determine what is his duty, should be: Is the measure of removing or diminishing slavery in the mode proposed, for the general welfare of the United States? In discussing this question, I shall consider the welfare,

First, of the slave holders.

Secondly, of the free population who are not slave holders.

Thirdly, of the slaves. And

Fourthly and lastly, of the whole nation of the United States.

Such various, interesting and apparently conflicting interests, are intrusted in our legislators in Congress, whose duty it is, carefully and conscientiously to consult the interests of the whole of them. And

First. Let us consider, how far the welfare of the slave holders themselves would be affected by the measure. This is a very delicate subject. It is I believe almost universally conceded, that Congress has no power to affect the legal title of this class of citizens to their slaves, unless by their voluntary consent, either by purchasing them for the purpose of colonization, or which would perhaps be the more delicate mode, by giving to those who would transfer to the United States, such as are sound in body and mind, for that purpose, such premiums, according to their age, as would be voluntarily accepted; which business might be managed through the agency of the marshals of the United States. Nor, even if our legislators had the power of affecting their title to them in any other way, than by voluntary agreement on the part of the holders, do I think it ought to be exercised; especially as it must be manifest from what has been said, that the funds of the nation are abundantly sufficient for removing the evil as fast as it would be expedient to do it.— I know, there is a class of people, who think that no respect whatever should be had to the title of the holders, arguing that liberty being a natural right to the slave, no just title can be had to his labor, unless by his own consent, or as a punishment for the transgression of some known law. Had this principle been observed by those who first originated slavery, the evil would not have existed. But to attempt to apply it in its full extent, in the present situation of the United States, would destroy all

order. The slave, as it is, is entitled to comfortable food and raiment for his labor, which is as much as uneducated free laborers can generally obtain thereby. I do not consider it important in the present case, to enter into the abstract question, as I am not now addressing the holders but the legislators, and whatever may be the views of the former, the obligation of the latter to respect their title to this species of property, appears to me unquestionable. It has been guaranteed to them by the State governments, recognized by the constitution of the United States, which grants to the states to which they belong, three fifths of the representation to which an equal number of free persons would entitle them. Congress is in the habit of paying the holders for property of this kind lost in their service. The government of Great Britain had to pay our government \$1,204,960 for property, nearly the whole slaves, taken from our citizens during the late war; which would be the price of upwards of four thousand of them, rating them at \$300 each.

The proportion to be colonized from each of the slave holding states, might be regulated by that of the slave population of those states by the census. I have no doubt a greater number of the holders would wish to sell, than the appropriation which would be judged expedient could accommodate, in which case the earliest applicants would seem entitled to a preference; but should it so happen, that the number in any one or more states should not be sufficient to absorb their respective appropriations, the overplus might the ensuing year be divided among those states, which received their full appropriations the preceding year.—And if a sufficient number did not at all come forward, the injury done would be nothing, as the part of the appropriation not applied would remain in the treasury; and in any case, no injury would be done to the holders, as any thing done in the business would on their part be entirely voluntary.

SIDNEY.

NO. 13.

The second thing proposed to be considered was, how the welfare of the free population who are not slave holders would be affected. So much has already been said, in a former number, on this subject, that it seems entirely unnecessary to enlarge on it here. It is manifest, that all the labour performed by slaves,

would, if there were none, become employment, and of course furnish the means of livelihood for free persons; and that, if instead of the slaves, there was an equally numerous free population, they would, by their industry and exertions, provide themselves generally with much greater comforts, than could be expected in a state of slavery, and of course would furnish much more employment to farmers, mechanics, merchants, and in short to persons of all professions.

To estimate the extent of interest under this head, I was induced to make a rough calculation of the proportion of the non-slave holding to the slave holding white population in the slave holding states, estimating the number of slave holders from the number of slaves by the census of 1820, on the supposition that the average number owned by each, was ten; and the number of white persons who have to make their living by industry or otherwise, by supposing one half of the white population by the same census, come to maturity; and taking the half of that, for the number of married couples and other males or females who have to provide for themselves; on which supposition I found in the most slave holding state, the proportion of the non-slave holding to the slave holding white population, about as four to three; in three others, nearly as two to one; in three others, nearly as four to one; and in all the others, the proportion considerably greater.

The third head mentioned, was the welfare of the slaves; on which it is unnecessary to enlarge, as the hardship to them and the violation of their natural rights is scarcely disputed by any. Let our legislators in Congress reflect, that their concerns are intrusted to them, and that there is hardly a hope, that either they or their posterity will for a long time be relieved from this severe and unnatural state of bondage, from any other source.

The fourth and last head mentioned, was the welfare of the nation of the United States in a political capacity. On this head so much have been said in the fourth number of this essay, and the political evils of slavery are so universally admitted, that it would seem to be a waste of words, to enlarge more on this subject.

From what has been said, it must be very manifest, that the removal or diminution of slavery would be for the general welfare of the United States, and its inhabitants, with the exception of the slave holders; and of them too, provided they received a reasonable recompense for the privation they would sustain by

the measure; from all which the duty of Congress in this business is easily inferred.

And though Congress can of themselves do nothing towards removing this evil, unless by voluntary contract with the holders of this kind of property; yet if ever that species of population, by the above proposed or any other means, should become small enough for the purpose, an alteration of the constitution might be made, by the concurrence of two thirds of both houses of Congress, and three fourths of the states, which would limit the period of its existence; such recompense being given to the holders of this kind of property, according to the age and other circumstances of the slaves, as would be thought reasonable, and would be accepted by a sufficient number of the states.

The principle proposed in this tract of diminishing or removing slavery from among us, by buying up and colonizing them, is by no means new. It has been strongly advocated lately by Mr. King of New-York, and Mr. Fitzhugh of Virginia. The following resolution by the Council and General Assembly of New-Jersey, published in the 8th annual report of the Colonization Society, is full to the purpose. "*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Legislature; a system of foreign colonization with correspondent measures, might be adopted, that would in due time effect the entire emancipation of the slaves in our country, and furnish an asylum for the free blacks, without any violation of the national compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals; and that such a system should be predicated upon the principle, that the evil of slavery is a national one, and that the People and the States of this Union ought mutually to participate in the duties and burthens of removing it."

I have long thought, that the chief thing which has prevented exertions being made, by the General Government, for the removal of slavery in the United States, was the idea, that it was too great a work for the finances of the nation, consistently with the claims of individuals. On examination I was convinced, that the contrary was the fact; and it appeared to me to be a duty, to lay before the public calculations, which might convince them of the feasibility of the measure. I shall now dismiss the subject, hoping that some persons, zealous in the cause, and of greater leisure, will take it up, and continue it so, that a gradual diminution in, and final removal of the evil from, our country, may be effected.

SIDNEY

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